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A CONGRATULATORY

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LETTER

TO

SE-L-I-M,

R ON THE

Three LETTERS

TO THE

WHIGS.

Hic murus abeneus esto
Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.

HOR.

L O N D O N :

Printed for M. COOPER, at the Globe in
Pater-Noster-Row. 1748.

A COMPENDIUM

LETTER

TO

SEAL

ON THE

THREE



TO THE

WHIGS.

THE MUSEUM OF THE
BRITISH MUSEUM

LONDON

Printed for M. G. G. at the
Print-Office, 1748.

A CONGRATULATORY

LETTER

TO

SELI M.

S I R,

YOU have often enjoyed the virtuous Satisfaction of being praised by the Praise-worthy; but still there was wanting to your Fame, the Circumstance of being thus publicly and formally abused by those of the contrary Character; and if the grossest and most shameless Falsties, the most indecent Petulances, the most staring Absurdities and Inconsistencies, may reasonably give that Idea of the Author of the three Letters to

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the

the WHIGS, you have now the Honour of being mark'd out as an Object of Calumny and Detraction, by one whose good Opinion, on the fairest Inference from his own Writings, it must be scandalous to have incurred, and whose Abuse is, in the true Nature of Things, a Distinction that becomes, with great Propriety, a Matter of Congratulation.

Vain and frivolous would it be to detain you here with the trite, common-place Observations that the greatest Men in all Countries, and in all Ages, have been the most exposed to the premeditated Calumnies of the Malicious, or the Misconstructions of the Ignorant or Superficial, and that Merit is ofteneft to be measured by the Proportion of Envy, as Bodies have their Dimensions taken by those of their Shade. No, it is not by a Panegyric I should make my Court to you, any more than to the Public, which hates that Strain, from seeing it so often infamously prostituted, and chofes rather to have a Passion natural enough to think ill of Men in Power flattered, than corrected. But this Passion has its Limits, more or less, in Proportion to the internal Love of Truth, which is inseparable from human Kind, and in Proportion to that Candour which is mostly found

found where there is most Virtue, and most Honour.

Easy then will it be, on a Review of the crude indigested Mass of false Allegations, and false Politics, contained in the three Libels now before me, to prove to the Public, that this scandalous Writer has treated it with the highest Contempt, if he thought he could impose them upon it, and with the most consummate Assurance, if he flattered himself that Railing would pass with it for Reasoning, or that all the Poetry of his Prose, his Aim at Wit, from coupling Ideas never made to meet but in waking Dreams, or, in short, all the frothy Embellishments of his *Fictions*, will atone for the Profligacy every honest Man will attribute to the Character of a wilful Defamer, and a Trumpeter of seditious Panics.

As Similitude of Stile is no more a Proof, than Similitude of Hands, since both are liable to accidental Likeness or designed Counterfeiture, I do not think the Author's Example so imitable as to father his Production on any specific Person. Were I indeed to rely on bare Conjectures I should impute it to one whose immense Modesty, not being contented with a Place which he had carried by the Point of his Pen, waited on a Minister,

“ whose Timidity and Impatience of Abuse

“ *he had discovered to be the weak Part of his Character,*” (3d Letter, Page 57.) and very cavaleerly demanded a Place of him ; but whether the Minister was then in a Fit of political Courage, and not in the Humour to be bullied, or that he did not enough consider the formidable Resentment of a male-treated Author, he not only refused him flatly another Place, but took, or caused to be taken, away that which he was actually possessed of, from the Day of which insufferable Injury, he has appeared *in Arms against* the present Ministry, at the Head of a political Paper, that will, before he has done with it, *if duly* encouraged, let them see that it would have been happy for them, if they had not, with regard to him at least, gone out of their Character of “ *Timidity, and Impatience of Abuse,*” into that of his Patron-elect, the great Lord G. who *piques* himself on being an *Anti-Mecænas*, and sending *all* Authors to the Devil without Ceremony.

But, with all the pregnant Reasons I have to pin the Merit of these Letters on this illustrious Male-content, I would not venture to pronounce it definitively so, and on the Foot of taking it for granted, set him up for the Butt of a very just Resentment for the personal Indignities offered to one who has so little deserved them, as you have, either in the Course of your private or public Character.

Character. Yet, under my Scarce-Uncertainty who the Offender is, it is extremely plain what he is *not*, viz. a Gentleman: For throughout the whole Composition there breathes nothing of the Air of that Character. A Gentleman of the least Breeding or Knowledge of the World, would be greatly above such gross indecent Abuse; and from a just Sense of his own Honour, would be tender of that of others, nor suffer his Disapprobation of any one's Conduct, or his Dissent from any one's Opinion, to make him forget his own Dignity, and precipitate him into poultry ribbald Raillery, and coarse, miserable Personalities.

Would a true Gentleman, for example, find out for a Nobleman of the first Character and Distinction in Life, the Ornament and Delight of his Family, and now sinking under the Infirmities of old Age, no decenter a Comparison than that of "a discreet Personage in his easy Chair, where he sits like good old Mother *Berecynthia*, *centum complexa nepotes*," (Letter 2d, Page 11.) or, "*Peevish Valetudinarians*."

Were Age and Infirmities ever proper Subjects of Ridicule? or where, to a Gentleman, would appear the Matter of Sneer, or Reproach, in that a Nobleman, possesst of a liberal Fortune, should adorn his Country
with

with a Seat and Gardens, laid out in a fine Taste? for so I think they are universally allowed. Where is the Joke of "*packing him into Buckinghamshire to lay out Elysian Fields for his Friends, and write Verses for Lap-dogs?*" Would, I say, any thing of a Gentleman throw his natural Affection to his *Cousin-hood*, in the Teeth of *that respectable Peer*, who has so recently lost a young Gentleman of great Hopes, that stood in that Degree of Relation to him, fighting gallantly in the *Service of his King and Country?*

Is the Designation of Gentlemen (that had the Honour to represent their Country in Parliament, and were thought of Age sufficient to be Members of the Legislature) by the Appellations of "*Half-a-dozen Boys become Turn-coats, --- " or a favourite Orator followed by a Mob of Boys,*" either genteel Language, or witty Satire? But what pretty Tyranny this is! that one can be neither old, nor young with Impunity! I hope, for Candour Sake, the Author of these Letters is a middle-aged Man; that is to say, neither a Boy, nor an old Woman, though there appears throughout his Letters the Pertness and Petulance of the one, and the Peevishness of the other.

But

But what a Weakness of Judgment would it be either to be moved at such bald, pointless, insipid Scurrilities, or to think any Gentleman capable of degrading himself into the Authorship of them? You must be very little of a *Tartar* indeed, if such a Discharge as this *could* gall you, (1st Letter, Page 53.) or spoil a single Digestion.

But if Stile can characterize, if not so certainly the Person, the Station of a Man in Life, these Letters evidently carry the Hackney-stamp of some low-bred Trader in Politicks and Scandal, some *Wat-Tyler of the Press*, equally unacquainted with Men and Manners, who gives into that Folly so common to those of his Profession, of imagining they bring their Superiors down to a Level with them, by railing at them, and who look down with Affectation of sovereign Contempt on the *great World* below them, from the burlesque Eminence of a Garret, from whence they disperse their Pacquets of Poison, not unlike the Picture underneath of a *Frenchman* of the same Trade, an anti-ministerial Scribler.

*Qui comme un second Mithridate,
Etoit plus friand qu'une Chate,*

Du

*Du poison qui le nourissoit
 Dans l' instant qu' il le vomissoit;
 Glorieux de la médifance
 Qu' il faisoit de son Eminence,
 Il vivoit de son aconit
 Et c' étoit pour lors pain benit
 De parler mal du Ministère.*

Guerre de Paris.

If I measure then this Man rightly (and as I do it purely by the Tenour and Stile of his Writings, I appeal to the World if I am mistaken) can there exist a greater Joke, than a Wretch of his lowest of all Callings, that of an hireling Hackney Author (for it would be using him yet worse to suspect him to be any thing above that Rank) to clap on a Mask of Importance, and gravely write three Letters to the Whigs, in which he intimates to them his Discovery of a villainous Plot in the Ministry against the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, and in Defence of which he very gallantly offers himself as Trumpeter and Champion, to stand one of the foremost in a Breach, never dream'd of being made? Courageous indeed!

I shall say nothing here of the extreme Nonsense of fomenting, or keeping alive the antiquated dying Distinctions of *Whig* and

and *Tory*, which to a *Briton* of true Sense, ought to sound no more interesting than those of *Guelphs* and *Ghibellins*; when there is a modern one of so much greater Weight and Propriety to be substituted, and ought to be for ever maintained, that of *Constitutionist* and *Anti-constitutionist*. The first of which, whether a Courtier in Place, or a Country-Gentleman in the Opposition to the Court, must be a *Patriot*, and the latter a Traitor, and an Enemy to his Country, whether he flatters at Court, or declaims against it in Parliament; and it is in Virtue of this fair and honest Distinction, that a Minister who defends the Measures he is engaged in, or has promoted according to the best of his Knowledge or Understanding, and the Member who opposes those Measures upon the pure Principles of Love to his Country, without Views of Interest, Pique, or Party, may be averred to be equally well-meaning *Patriots*. For Example, I cannot but think the D—— of N—— at least as good a Patriot, even tho' he is a Secretary of State, and kept a *French* Cook, as Sir W—— W—— W——.

It is then perhaps as much for the Benefit of the Nation, that there should be an Opposition, as a Ministry, whilst the Members of neither mean nothing more than

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doing

doing their DUTY to their Country, which ought to be the only Guide of both, and is at least so much respected by both, as to be equally put in the Front of their respective Conducts, though I am afraid that too often, *on both Sides*, it covers, like Charity, a Multitude of Sins; but such is the Fate of Humanity,

Iliacos intra Muros peccatar & extra.

Considering then the Denominations of Whig and Tory, if not as utterly exploded, at least as fully deserving that they should be so, I shall not humour so much the Pretence of this pleasant Letter-writer, (who, by the way, is probably a Whig or Tory occasionally, as either suits his Purpose best, but at Bottom of no Party at all) as to undertake him *tanquam* Whig. It would be doing him the Honour to suppose he had some Principles, which I think his flagitious Disregard to common Decency and Truth cut off all Title, or Pretensions to: So that one would say, happy that Party of which he or his Resemblers are not! if it could be imagined that there was any Party low enough to entertain them on their Muster-rolls.

Can

Can any one then, without a Mixture of Mirth and Indignation, see this Mock-champion of Liberty throw down his dirty Glove, in a Cause that does not deserve such a Profanation? With the same Grace and Propriety might a ragged Gin-drunk old Apple-woman, execute *Dimmock's* Office of the Coronation. Is not the Simile low? Yes, but not too low for the Subject of it, a dirty Libeller, who, covering his Rage of Abuse under the respectable Name of Liberty, fastens upon the Names and Characters of Gentlemen of Rank and Distinction, treats them as Corsairs, Apostates, Renegades, and all this without even a Shadow of a Reason for it, unless perhaps it may be admitted for one, that they did not repair to his Garret, and consult him how they should order their political Conduct, or have not thought him worth Hush-money, to suppress his tremendous Criticism upon it.

Ring the Bells! beat the Drums! sound all the Trumpets there! the Liberty of the Press is in Danger. Wake! *Britons*, wake! ere it is too late, and your Sword-arm is cramped, or cut off: By whom, for God's Sake? why, only by the Guardians and Defenders of the Liberties of the Nation, the two Houses of Parliament, composed of all that are most interested to maintain them in their just

Extent : And you, Sir, who have drawn your Pen with such Zeal in the Service of that great Branch of them, the Liberty of the Press, are one of the principal Conspirators, which is fairly proved on you by a certain wicked Addition in your *Persian Letters*, of Correctives, in which you declared for leaving the Assassines of private Characters unregretingly *to the Course of the Law*. Will you after this plead not guilty, to the Accusation of having feloniously and traiterously plotted the Subversion of that Liberty, of which this mock *Cato* dropt us from the Clouds appears the undaunted Champion? If you do not go on though, take Notice, he will clap his Wings, and boast that his doughty Performance averted the Storm you, and your wicked Accomplices were brewing.

Poor, silly, pragmatical Starter of vain Alarms! no, not all your Provocations, not all the Arguments your dirty Writings furnish the Enemies to that Liberty of the Press to attack it with, can shake the Rock of the Constitution it is founded on; those who unfortunately suffer the most by it, from the Eminence of their Rank and Characters, would be the first to oppose the Destruction of the firmest Bulwark of *British Liberty*. The
Waves

Waves may beat against a Sea-encompassed Castle, but they defend it too.

And here, though I am not at all concerned to defend the Author of the Letter to the Tories, I cannot avoid exploding the Disingenuity of his Answer, as it stands in the following Quotation.

*" I am aware, that the Letter-writer
 " thinks to disentangle himself, by having
 " called it the Licence of the Press, a frippery Art, and not of his own Invention.
 " It has been always termed so by the Enemies of Liberty, and he may have picked
 " the Expression out of the Free Briton and
 " London Journal, and some such Trash,
 " which it was his Province to answer under the old Ministry. Suppose it is licentious, it is a bad Effect from a glorious
 " Cause."*

In the first Place, granting the Term Licentiousness to have been originally and first used in those decried Papers, I cannot conceive why a Word of such Significance, and that stands for a Contradistinction to Liberty, as Vice does to Virtue, because they or any other Scribblers have employed it, even in a wrong Sense, and to serve a bad Purpose, should be utterly proscribed. I have a strong Notion, that the Expression
 of

of the *Liberty of the Press* will hardly grow out of favour, or have its Influence entirely staled, because a few profligate Libellers have pressed it into their Service.

Then as to the Licentiousness of the Press being pleaded in Favour of as a *bad Effect*, but from a *glorious Cause*, and therefore not to be meddled with, I do not know hardly a Crime or Villainy but the same Origin may be urged against its Prevention, or Punishment. Free Agency is a glorious Cause, but if the bad Effects of it are not to be obviated or chastised, the whole Body of penal Laws ought to be abolished; especially that wicked Law against the Writers of incendiary Letters, to which an effectual one against incendiary Libels, would not be an undesirable Supplement, if it did not interfere too much with our Champion's Province of defending this "*bad Effect* of "*a glorious Cause*," as if the Guilt of abusing so valuable a Blessing was not rather an Aggravation than a Title to Shelter or *Protection* from it.

That however different, and opposed as Liberty is to Licentiousness, the Barriers between them are almost too nice for the utmost Stretch of human Wisdom to fix, I candidly own; and were that Liberty of the Press to be tampered with, or struck at,
under

under any Colour however plausible of curbing the Licentiousness of it, I have so just an Opinion of *British* good Sense, as to bespeak a vigorous Opposition; yet I firmly believe, that those who would be the forwardest to run to the Breach on such an Attack, from the same worthy Bottom, heartily lament the crying intolerable Abuse of that Liberty, and wish it might be redrest. Nor would it be unworthy the serious Attention of the Legislature to consider, that though the Point is so extremely difficult, and perhaps barely not impossible, to fix on some Expedient, that without hurting, wounding or blasting that tender Plant, the Liberty of the Press, might more or less obviate its running into such rank dangerous Wildness, and tie it, as Vines are, not to check, but to *support* and promote its giving fair and wholesome Fruits. *This* End, if obtained, would redound greatly to their Honour, and to publick and private Tranquillity, which sees itself, in the present State of Things, so often attack'd and disturb'd by Wretches, whose Occupation of getting Bread by Scandal and Defamation, is not one jot more honourable than that of common Assassines or Highway Men, for being carried on with an Impunity, that is a just Matter of Reproach to us from Foreigners, who are unacquainted

acquainted with that wholesome wise Jealousy of our Constitution, which dissembles a very great Evil, for fear of opening a Door to a much greater.

More, I presume, is not necessary here to say in Explodal of that imaginary Danger to the Liberty of the Press, which this Standard-bearer of *Grub-Street* has seized on as a Handle to abuse you, in good Company at least; but shall pass on to his impudent gross Abuse of several Gentlemen of the first Distinction for personal Merit and unattainted Honour (not to say any thing of their Birth or Condition) in bestowing on them very familiarly the Titles of *Apostate Patriots*, and *Preachers of passive Obedience*, both of which Accusations are equally true.

If the necessary Consequence of accepting a Place in the public Service, if the one Condition of it was *breaking one's Oaths*, and betraying one's Party and Country,--- I should be the first to allow, that such a Conduct in a *profest Patriot*, who stepped perhaps into Place from the Shoulders of a Popularity acquired by that most amiable and noble Character, deserved all or more Invectives than the Wit of this Scavenger of Scandal could begrime him with. This would indeed be " *a bad Effect*, but from

" *a glorious Cause,*" that I should not think only Infamy an adequate Punishment to.

But as the Charge is atrocious, and tends to rob a Man of what ought to be infinitely dearer than his Life, his Reputation, ought not the Proofs of it to go Hand in Hand? Or ought it to be received and pass as proved, on no better Grounds than the Correction of a *Persian* Letter, (which too was made before the Epoch of this pretended Apostacy) or on the falsest Conclusions from his political Conduct? which, whilst in the Opposition, and since his Assumption into Place, has indeviously pursued his *one* constant Motive of Action, *the Service of his Country.*

But let us now examine what this profound Politician expected from these Accepters, and what he grounds his Charge against them for in those soft Terms of Apostacy and Perjury.

In the first Place, these Boy-patriots had in the whole Course of their Opposition carefully protested against any Ill-meaning to his Majesty's Service, in their Attacks on the then Ministry, whose Blunders they never affected to respect, and accordingly carried on a fair and open War with the Premier Minister who was by his own Avowal principally answerable for them.

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When,

When, after the Removal of the Lord O——, those Places and Posts that had been engrossed by *one* Interest, which was that of the reigning Minister, and whose *Tenure* was no other than an unreserved Devotion to himself, (for his Master was out of the Question) began to be distributed on a more enlarged and national Plan; to which a noble Duke gave the Name not unapt of the Broad-bottom, several of the Gentlemen, who had joined in bringing about so desirable a Change, came in course into Posts and Places, from which, pray! where was their Title of Exclusion from the Service of their Country? where *was their Disqualification?* unless their having *served* their Country was one.

Oh! but as soon as they got into Place, they were like Boys indeed, in the Heat of their Success to run the Risk of overturning the Government by too abrupt and precipitate a Reformation of inveterate Errors, fatally wove into it by their Predecessors,---they were instantly to make an Innocent's Day of all their Measures and Schemes, under the Pain and Penalty of passing for Betrayers of their Party, or Apostate Patriots.

Instead of which, these Gentlemen, as they accepted their Places on the Foot of

true Patriots, were determined to act in them the most consistently with that Character; and as they had deserved Success, so they were not dazzled or giddied with it. They considered themselves as introduced into Power, not to gratify their private Piques and Animosities into which they had been carried away perhaps too far in the Heat of their Opposition; but for a worthier End; to heal the national Breaches, redress such Grievances as the Circumstances of a War, the Novelty of their Power, and the Expedience of the Instant would admit, and to check in their respective Departments the Growth of Corruption, which, under the Cultivation of the preceding Administration, had shot its Roots too strongly to be torn up at once. If then they did not show themselves more sanguine than wise, if now let into the Necessities of the Times, they saw themselves forced to acquiesce in a partial Reform, and in a Continuation of some Measures they had formerly opposed, either because the *abruptly retracting them* might have been attended with worse Consequences, or because the Conjunctures had really varied, and rendered certain Points highly necessary, which had been at first highly blameable; are such Proofs of Coolness, Moderation, and true Devotion to their Country in these Boy-Patriots to be wrested, and

tortured into Constructions of Apostacy and Perjury? only because they accepted Places, and worthily preferred the great and solid Interests of their Country to the Temptations of acquiring a false and momentary Popularity by Rashness and Intolerancies, that would have endangered that Government, which they had in the whole Course of their Opposition solemnly professed their Devotion and Allegiance to?

Can there again be a more dangerous or infamous Tenet propagated, than that his Majesty's Service is incompatible with that of the Nation, and immediately *dispatriots* the Man that enters into it? Whenever that Doctrine prevails, that of *Jacobitism* must clearly take Place in Proportion: For surely it would be scarce more irksome to serve under an arbitrary *Papist* Prince, than under one whose Service carries with it in the public Idea, that of Inconsistence with the strictest Patriotism, and the Good of *Great Britain*; and accordingly, none are so forward to circulate this false and scandalous Report, with all the Industry of Malice, than those of the *Jacobites*, who, under the more mitigated Name of *Tories*, had worn the Face of being incorporated with the true Patriots, and acted in Concert with them, but with very different Views; till
finding

finding themselves disappointed of bringing every Thing into a Disorder and Confusion favourable to their Ends, finding that the Patriots had sought Places under the Government, not to subvert, but to strengthen it, they set up the holloo of Traitor, Apostate, &c. which this wise Libeller comes limping after, and yelping to fill up the Cry.

Thus it was the Constancy and Fidelity of the Patriots, after their coming into Place, to their repeated Protestations of Duty to the King, that galled and exasperated those *something more than Tories*, who had seemed to make one Body with them, in other Hopes and other Views; and after their Separation, they still kept up a *mutilated Corps of Opposition*; and like the Soldiers in *Strada's Wars of Flanders*, *Dimidiato corpore pugnabant, sibi superstites*.

Here again, let me ask one single Question: Could the People make a more cruel, a more unjust Return to his Majesty, for condescending to accept and admit at *their* Hands, and at *their* Recommendation, the Servants of the People into *his* Service, than to imagine that this Admission was yielded to on the infamous Condition of these "*ambitious Boys*" deserting or betraying the Interests of that very People whose Creatures, whose Adoptives they, properly speaking, were?

were? A Title to national Preferment, undoubtedly the most honourable that can be, and which no King on Earth could afford you an Equivalent for. Is it not more natural, more just, to suppose, that his Majesty (whose Inflexibility to his Enemies puts his Resolution and Constancy out of all Doubt) from his Desire of making his People easy in all Points that depended upon his Goodness, and from the Uprightness of his Heart, thought an Opposition to the Measures of his Ministry, on the *Patriot* Footing, no Objection to their coming into Posts of Trust in *his* Service? And would not the admitted Patriots not only have betrayed the true Interest of their Country, but have made most ungrateful Returns to their trusting Sovereign, had they in the Wantonness of their Success, proceeded to distress or embarrass the Current of the public Service? or had they not, to the Risque of their own Reputation, preferred what was best in Practice, to what was only so in Speculation, pursuing thus the greatest public Good with a meritorious Disdain for the Interpretations of the ignorant and malicious, and little indeed does he deserve Power who is afraid of them. It was this noble Conscientiousness alone that must have put into the Mouth of one of your Friends that Expression

pression which has been so often thrown in his Teeth, and lastly by this Libeller, Let. i. p. 24. (here I beg the Question that he made Use of it) the *unembarrassed Countenance* with which (and why not?) he could support the Accusations of Apostacy, or Party Desertion. Is a Man who has nothing to accuse himself of, to be embarrass at a Reproach which his Innocence gives him a Right to spurn at? Or is not this a *Fierté* that becomes Virtue?

When I consider then with what Propriety, not to mention with what Decency, this *insolent and regardless Libeller* employs the Terms of *Young abandoned Cabal,--- ambitious Boys ---- Apostates, Turncoats,* and the rest of his Billingsgate Thesaurus, and think of the *pretty Historiette* he drags in by the Head and Shoulders of the Poet *Voltaire's* having "*wrote a Satire (suppose I substitute Libel) against a Man of Quality, who beat him for it. He made his Complaints to the Regent; that sensible Prince replied, what would you have me do? Justice has been done already.*" I would fain know, whether, if that salutary Correction had lighted on the Author of the three Letters to the Whigs, and he had brought his Action upon it, this very identical *Bon-mot* would not have been *mutatis mutan-*

mutandis, at least as much *in Point* from a Judge on the Bench in the Recommendation of his Case to the tender Consideration of a Jury, as in the forced Application of it, to a Clamour he *supposes* to have been made by you and your traiterous Accomplices against the Press. Happily however, these low Dealers in Abuse in this Isle remain in perfect Safety from *Voltaire's* Fate, untraced, and snug, under the Shelter of invincible Contempt.

Proceed we now to examine his modest Charge against the present Ministry of Insufficiency, Inability, Timidity, and in short every bad Quality that can incapacitate them for the Conduct of either *domestic* or *foreign Affairs*, which are the two great Objects of Government.

To begin then with the domestic System, I will engage, that from this turgid, inconsistent Author may be picked, without wresting his Meaning, without separating Quotations from their Context, a greater Encomium than any of the fulsome Advocates that wait upon present Power, into whatever Hands it gets, would venture to nauseate the Public with, and were not his Malice too absurd to be suspected of much Art, one would imagine he that finessed his

his Abuse, and wrote booty for the Side he pretends to attack.

Such, for Example, is the unsuspected Panegyric on the Ministry; for its Tender-ness of the Liberty of the Subject, in their Use of the Suspension of the Habeas-Corpus, during the late unfortunate Rebellion: What a Clamour would not this Profligate have raised, had they stretched it to any Severity? He, I say, who could in the noblest, the most guarded Use that could be made of the Powers trusted to them, find Matter of Objection and Reproach: Must not a Man be Scandal-mad before he could dream of making the Lenity of the Ministry an Article of *his* Impeachment, when all Circumstances have concurred to justify them in it: Yes! it is their Glory, that when the Rebellion was most flagrant, when one might even read the Successes of *Preston* and *Falkirk* in the Face of the *Jacobites*, they took up, they confined no more than what they could not possibly help: They proceeded on the truest Plan of Politics, which was not to strengthen that wretched Cause with any Reasons to complain of unnecessary Asperities and Persecution.

The Eyes of the Government were ever open on the Drift, Practices, and Dangers from that Party, but contented themselves

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with

with watching them, and with taking care they should do no Harm, and this without Imprisonments on Suspicion, or alarming the natural Good-nature of our Country, which never fails to attend the Sufferers for any political Principle, though it is ever so contrary to the Good of it. How many of the worthiest and best Subjects felt a Pity for those of the Rebels that were made necessary Examples of Justice, yet detested their Party, whilst they deplored the Misguidance that had brought them to their Fate? (Let. 2d, p. 76.) “ *Harmless* Proclamations
 “ ranged themselves *peaceably* with innocent
 “ Play-bills, and while the one banished
 “ *Roman-Catholicks*, the other gave out Tra-
 “ gedies to be performed by noted Papists.”

Oh, Author! let me here return thy arch
 Apostrophe; hast thou no Compassion for th’
 all-passive Paper? Was a poor peaceable Papist
 Actor or Actress worth thy sublime Notice, who
 hast so solemnly taken the Liberties of *Europe*
 and *Great-Britain* under thy high Protecti-
 on? Or is not this, to use thy own Ex-
 pression, “ playing away Terrors,” to throw
 in the Face of the Ministry their Toleration
 of the *Hibernian* Mr. *Cashel*, who was even
 discharged after being taken up, or the
 much more dangerous Mrs. *C--bb--r*? ay!
 and permit them to act *Tragedies* too! and,
 prob

prob pudor ! to mix the Contributions of their *Mite* with the Subscriptions of staunch Protestants to the *veteran* Scheme? *Timeo Danaos & dona ferentes.*

But what exceeds all Measure of Indolence and Supineness in the Ministry, Eunuchs from *Rome* itself, that Mint of all Treasons, were allowed to play *La Caduta dei Giganti*, in Detestation indeed of the Rebellion: But any Mask would serve to shelter the Rancour of their *Roman* Hearts from a Ministry so remiss, and inattentive as that was to such great Objects.

But, to be serious, did not the Conduct of the Papists prove that the Ministry had judged rightly, in not persecuting them, whilst they gave perhaps less Umbrage than many others, from whom it ought to have been less expected? No! it is not possible to put the Praise of the Ministry stronger, than what Truth and Facts have extorted from this shameless Scribbler, in the Shape of Abuse.

Where too was this "*religious War*," (Let. 2d, p. 76.) when most of the Heads who were concerned or suffered were chiefly Protestants? (for I have barely Charity to allow my Lord *Lovat* any Religion at all) and that this strange Rebellion was without a Plot, accounts very justly why so few of

any Note were taken up, and answers fully his own before-mentioned Reproach.

But whoever has amind to be satisfied of the incomparable Ravings of this Escape from Bedlam, let him but read in the 75th Page of his 3d Letter, a curious Account of the negative Conduct of the Ministry, in which he finds Matter of a Sneer against it, not because *they metamorphosed their private Foes into public Enemies --- not because they turned Streams of Confiscations into the Exchequer Coffers --- not because they strengthened the Power of the Crown with Garrisons and standing Armies ---- not because they made no Use of actual Rebellion to bring any Mischiefs on their Country*; but, for what then? why, precisely for NOT doing any of these Things; for being such wretched Under-Politicians, as to baulk so tempting an Occasion of gratifying their own private Interest and Piques. Perhaps I invent or wrest this Passage, mark then the very Words of the Author immediately after, observing how *easy* it was for a Minister to make such an Use of an actual Rebellion, Page 75. “ But *these* (says he) are the Devices of artful Ministers! so tender are our Governors of the Liberty of the Subject, that while a Popish Prince was wrestling for the Crown in the Heart of

“ the Kingdom, the freeborn Papist was
 “ suffered to say Mass (*a la bonne heure*)
 “ for his Success in every Quarter of the
 “ Metropolis. Harmless Proclamations
 “ ranged themselves, &c. *ut supra*.--- Above
 “ six Week was the *Habeas-corpus* suspen-
 “ ded before a single Person was suspected
 “ of wishing well to the Pretender; for,
 “ had they been suspected, it is not to be
 “ supposed that Fear prevented their being
 “ apprehended.” There he is right, but
 Lenity, and a Security founded upon good
 Grounds, prevented any unnecessary Hard-
 ships on the Subject, or any Exertion of the
 Powers trusted by the Suspension of the
Habeas-corpus Act, but what was indispen-
 sibly necessary, a Procedure worthy of a
 Ministry whose Glory it is not only to “*bate*,”
 (see Page 78, Let. 3d.) but to maintain a
 profound Contempt for “*morose*” Authority,
 and who, in spite of the superior Lights
 of our Libeller, beg leave to think “*that*
 “*punishing without Severity*” is governing
 with the truest *Dignity*.

To follow this Author through his desul-
 tory Skips, from Lie to Lie, from Absurdity
 to Absurdity, would be vain, superfluous,
 and tiresome; the Sensible and the Candid
 will judge of the Authority of the whole by
 some of these Scantlings of his Candour and

Vera-

Veracity, such as they appear, against himself, from his own showing. I shall pass by too that unsupported, false, and Malice-black Accusation of *Loads of Scandal being published against his Royal Highness by you and your Friends*, with no other Remark, than that his Royal Highness sees none round him, or in his Confidence, that *can* be more unalterably attached to the *true* Interests of his Family, his *true* Honour, his *true* Dignity than those Gentlemen so injuriously treated in his Name.

But, as this Libeller has taken upon him to repeat and re-aggravate another Charge that has been before sounded by some Trumpets of Disaffection, of the M--n--y having *violated the inmost Recesses of the Cabinet, infringed the sacred Option deposited in the Royal Breast*, (what Fustian is here?) *displayed their Banners in a mutinous Squadron—beat up for Volunteers in the very Palace against their Master—listed Pr—y Coun—rs against him insolently, telling him who he shall employ, and who disgrace.* The Importance of the Personage thus irreverently brought in for a Colour to these flighty Rants, excuses me from not entirely passing it by in the contemptuous Silence such flagrant Falsities deserve. The Truth of the Case which gave Rise to this scandalous Aspersions is more probably accounted for in that some of
the

the chief Servants of the State should make Use of a Liberty not denied to the meanest Servant in *Great Britain*, of acquainting their Master that they could not serve him, if a certain Nomination to a great Post took Place, and that if his M—— was pleased to have his Appointment stand, as they could not possibly act in Concert with him, they begged leave to resign their Posts to such as his M---ty might hope to see himself better served by. Where was the Disrespect? where was the Detriment to his M-----y's Service in this modest Representation? where was his *sacred Option* infringed? where was even any Distress to his Service, even allowing the Conjecture to be as critical as could be? were not there enough in most ready-waiting to step in to their vacant Places? was not the great Man himself, who was the Occasion of this proposed Resignation, all-sufficient to repair the trifling Gap of such an unregrettable Ministry as this Libeller represents it? Was not the Loss of them, more in that critical Time than any other, when there was a Call for the greatest Abilities, a clear Gain to his M-----y's Service? Where then is the Handle to abuse them for using no more than the Liberty of the lowest Subject, to decline a Service, where

where there is a disagreeable Fellow-servant assumed or obtruded into it?

What Reasons these Personages had for not choosing to act in any Concert with L. G. are foreign to the Point under Discussion here. And I own I wonder how any that were acquainted with his personal Character, could deprive themselves of so great a Blessing, whether you consider the extreme Diffidence of this Arbiter of *Europe*,—his Unwillingness to arrogate to himself all the Merit of all Measures, often even of those he had not been concerned in,—his Talent at connecting, or *Esprit de Liaison*—his profound Sincerity—his fierce Aversion to arbitrary Power, --- his gentle driving, --- his Courtliness in talking much better *German* than good *English*,—the Moderation of his Schemes, with a thousand other Virtues and Qualifications, which emblazon him, and must give but an unfavourable Idea of such as could reject so fair an Opportunity of improving their Politics by serving under one so fit, and so willing too to command them. There indeed I give them up; and how the Devil "*his Jests became formidable to their Set of little Souls,*" I cannot conceive, for I ever understood Wit was a Quality he held in the most stern Contempt, and snuffed at the very Mention of it, and I am sure *morose Authority*
never

never *breaks* a Jest, though it sometimes *subscribes* one.

Here I close on the Head of domestic Affairs, with this candid Appeal to the Publick on the Merits of this self-condemning Accuser of others, who from the Fund of his Rancour, could produce against the Ministry he pretends to attack, no Proofs of their Insufficiency but what are drawn from their Lenity, which he has the Impudence to attribute to Cowardice, though it is a Quality esteemed inseparable from true *Courage*; no Proofs of their Timidity, but that of their chaffering for Patriots, which is their Reward for contributing their Advice and Interest to enlarge the Channels of Preferment, which had before flowed confined to one Party, and opening them to those of all Parties who should join with them in the grand Point of supporting the Protestant Succession, and establishing the Government on the broad Basis of the Constitution; no Proofs of their *seizure* of Power, and their Intentions to perpetuate it in their own Hands by the Assistance of a military Force, but his own most creditless Allegations and Rage of Abuse, innocent only in this, that the Number of his Absurdities and Inconsistencies, which will easily appear to any one who will take the Trouble to compare

F him

him with himself, the Excess of his Effrontery, and the Glare of his Malice, correct and carry their Counterpoison to his Slaver.

As to the Management of foreign Affairs, which this great Statesman takes Cognizance of, with the same uniform Candour that runs through all his Performance, and groans over his dear Country only to introduce the infamously false Charge of the Ministry being any wise blameable for our Misfortunes on the Continent; the Publick must remember Epochs too well not to clear the present Ministry of having deserved the Imputation of their ill Success. Are the Reasons of the *Dutch* Shyness and cool Embrace of our Assistance so little known? Is the Alienation of *Prussia*, --- the Consequences on the famous Treaty of *Vienna*, --- the Handles of Misrepresentation of our Intentions on a late recent Treaty, founded high against us in every Court of *Europe*, --- the Loss of our Interest in a certain northern Court; were these, I say, the Work of *this* Ministry? which has been incessantly employed in Struggles to surmount and get over the Obstacles and Difficulties now thrown in their Teeth by the very Authors of them, who enjoy and solace themselves in the Calamities of their Country, as Witches do in the Storms they have raised.

Great

Great and capital Errors in Politics are not so easily nor so soon retrieved, nay, it is often necessary to go on with those that have been begun, only because they have been begun, to make good Engagements that have been ruinously contracted, but must be complied with, because they have been contracted. Thus a Successor may incur the unjust Charge of Inconsistency, for pursuing Measures he has justly condemned his Predecessors for running into, and which yet he cannot retract without greater Inconveniencies. Nothing can be truer than that the fatal Byass, the wrong Direction was given to Affairs, which still acts upon their Course, long before the present System of the Ministry took Place. Did not L---d O-----, just before his memorable Abdication of Power, declare in the open House, that we had not a Friend or Ally to depend on? Nor had we, for he had baulked the Occasions, or lost the Season of making any. Did he not likewise drive other very considerable Powers into the Arms of our Enemies, that knew their Value too well not to embrace and fix them beyond the Power of subsequent Ministers to retrieve them? And are they answerable for the still-felt Effects of those decisive Blunders which they loudly protested against at the Time of their Commission?

Suppose too, for Argument's Sake, the Ministry convinced " of the Insufficiency of " *Dutch Friendship*," (Page 71.) was it possible to disintangle ourselves so suddenly from our Allies on the Continent, as to leave them abruptly to their Fate, and wait our own with reconcentered Forces? Possibly it would have been better, that not a File of Musqueteers had ever been transported there; but since that Measure was so deeply entered into, what could have been done that was not done? Was the sudden, the unexpected Loss of *Bergen-op-Zoom* any Fault of *this* Ministry? Or rather is not the Success of the *French* owing to that Unity of Spirit and Direction, which breaths throughout their Councils, animates their Execution, and is the true Cause of their Success? Whilst the Allies are not only divided in their Opinions and Councils, but subdivided again into intestine Factions.--- Is it not too a Reproach to the Cause of Liberty, that its glorious Principles should not be a stronger Cement of her free-born Sons, than the Infatuations of Slavery, passive Obedience, and the Glory of their Monarch, visibly prove amongst our Neighbours? Can any one then be too much discouraged, who, by inflammatory Libels, and flagrant Falsities, seeks to widen Breaches, foment

Animo-

Animosities; and raise Distrusts amongst the People, either in the Capacity or Integrity of the Members of the Government, at a Time when its utmost Attention and all its Powers should be exerted in Opposition to the national Enemies?

Was it again, for Example, *this* Ministry's Fault, or where was the single Point they have shewn such Tameness in, as to invite the celebrated Letter of Mr. *Van Hoey* in favour of the Rebels? Yes! says this Prodigy of Modesty, and asks archly if *the French Secretary had not collected from the Behaviour of our Ministers, that the Channel of their Mercy flowed most towards their bitterest Antagonists*, (see Page 86. 3d Let.) This is straining hard for Abuse indeed! But however, he owns, "*a vigorous Answer was returned to those that sent the debasing Message.*" Debasing indeed! to the Fools that sent it, but not at all to the Ministry that received it, and spurned at it: Nay, treated it with such cool Scorn and Contempt, as that not one extraordinary Severity was used, for fear that Court should think they had taken enough Notice of it, to let it influence them *any* way. All *Europe* laughed at the Irregularity and Folly of this Step: Our *timid* Ministry presumed to smile at it too, and saw nothing in it so terribly

serious as "*a Pitch of Presumption reserved
"to stamp the Character of our wretched Days!"*
Taltidum, tidum! high Heroics indeed!
but any thing serves this frothy Declaimer
to patheticise upon, mounted on the Stilts of
his poetical Phraseology.

How shrewd soever may be the comparative Use made of Sir *Francis Walsingham's* Name, and that of the much greater L. G. to decry the present Ministry, I am persuaded their Panegyrist is extremely welcome (for what they care) to run through all the Ministries that ever yet existed, and wind up with the old stale thread-bare Conclusion, that the *present* one is the very worst of all. A Conclusion which the Members of the *Billingsgate* Academy here seem to have borrowed the Hint of, and inverted it, from the Members of the *French* Academy, whose one stupid trite Form of Panegyric is to pass in review the Merit of all former Reigns, sum it up, and gravely conclude, that the Lustre of the *present* Reign eclipses them all. Opposite Extremes, that are equally ridiculous, and equally the Contempt of the sensible Publick.

That the present Overcast on our foreign Affairs is so far from being owing to those Personages who are principally aimed at in that scandalous Pamphlet, it will undeniably appear

appear on a fair Retrospect, that those very Measures which brought on the present *Crisis*, were at the Time of their being taken, protested, fulminated against, and the infallible Consequences from them plainly predicted, by the *then* Opposition, which had the Fate of *Cassandra*, to be heard and neglected. Barbarous and unjust is it then to impute to them Consequences they did all they could to prevent, when out of Power, and after they came into Power, to redress and retrieve.

If in a Consultation of Physicians, the Advice of the Ignorant prevails, the mis-treated Patient is thrown into a desperate State, finds out, perhaps too late, the Error, and calls in the neglected judicious Practitioner, who succeeds to the unenviable Task of dealing with a dangerous Complication of Disorders, induced by unskilful Practice; admitting even that it is out of the Power of his Art to restore the Damage, and complete the Cure, where does the Blame properly and rightfully land? And must it not be extreme Effrontery, as well as extreme Injustice, for the discarded Quack to impute to his Successor, the natural and inevitable Effects of his own Blunders, and ground his modest Petition for the Patient to be re-committed to his Care, on the Badness

ness of those identical Symptoms of which himself was the original Cause? Or is the Necessity of using slow Alteratives to be construed as an Adoption or Approval of a pernicious Regimen, that cannot be, without too great Danger, immediately broke off? Might not the Man in *England* the most fiercely opposed to the Measure of sending Troops abroad, yet after they were sent, without Inconsistency or Impropriety, acquiesce in the Reasons for not withdrawing them?

Had the Author specified the Particulars given us, or the Heads of that grand Plan of L--- G---, which the Ministry is accused of adopting, and imperfectly executing, It would have been in Place here, to have gone into the comparative Merits of it, under Appeal to the Publick: If my Memoirs are not false, (and as I would not absolutely guarantee, I do not particularize them) that boasted Plan was *both inexecutable* in the Circumstances of the Kingdom, nor warranted by the Conditions of our Affairs.

Risquing *le tout pour le tout* was, as it is much his Stile, *the Word*: The whole Fate of the Nation was to be set at a Cast, in favour of a foreign *Germanic* System, as if we were not already too much involved with the Continent, where, by the by, all the Profusion of *British* Blood and Treasure *never served*
but

but to purchase a constant Experience of Ingratitude from those Nations they had saved : A Charge that even one most Germanized Out-minister, and a bigotted Zealot to the House of *Austria*, which he has taken under his august Protection, will hardly bluster through the Denial of. And in favour of this foreign Cause, we were to launch out to our very last Shilling, under colour of making one grand decisive Push, which too in all Probability the Preparations for, would only have lessened those of our dear Allies, and thrown the entire Burthen upon us, when they saw us so forward to court, and crouch under it.

Instead of which, the Plan proceeded upon was to continue to the *Dutch* the Assistance of Forces very sufficient indeed to have kept *France* in check, and secured their Barrier, had they been as faithful to their Interests as we were ; and for a Nation to be more cool, more indifferent to its own Security, when the Enemy was even entered their Towns, than only a Neighbour, is one of those Prodigies in Politics, which human Wisdom would hardly make a Merit of guarding against. No ! let it be said, and truly said, to the Honour of our Nation, that it had no Hand in losing either the Battle of *Fontenoy*, *Bergen-op-Zoom*, &c.

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and

and it would be full *Turkish* indeed, to judge a Ministry on such Events.

Letter 3d, Page 53. "He (L. G.) made
 " a Treaty for securing the Alliance of the
 " King of Sardinia, by giving him Final;
 " have we annulled that Treaty? Will that
 " Prince accept of any other Conditions for
 " his Frindship? &c."

Alas! without annulling that most righteous Treaty, it is far from inconsistent with the necessary Policy of suffering it to stand in our critical Conjectures, to wish that Article had never been a Part of it: For surely that Prince could scarce have been made sure to us on Terms more hurtful to our Reputation with every Court in *Europe*, where the *French* did not fail of improving the Handle to their Advantage. "Is this, said they, a Mark of the Sincerity of the *English* in their so loud sounded Professions of protecting the Liberties of *Europe*, to give away with a high Hand the Dominions of a third Power not at War with them, without the Shadow of any Right, but *Conveniency* on one Side, and *Weakness* of the other?"——

Even *Holland* itself could not see with Indifference a Sister-Republic made with so little Ceremony the Victim of *our* Politicks, the Equity of which, such a Treatment was not very likely to spread favourable Im-

was

pressions of.---The Consequences who knows not? But to use an Argument *ad hominem*, I fancy if the Crown had arbitrarily seized an undivided Eighth, the Share and Property of one *British* Subject, in an *American* Colony, with no better Colour of Right, than *Final* was to be torn from the *Genoese*, his Eloquence would not have been of the least vehement against the Injustice of such a Procedure; and I humbly presume that *le droit de bienséance* would have been treated by him with as little respect as it really deserves.

If the Scurrility of this Letter-writer did not sink him beneath Definition or Character, his Manner of attacking is not ill described in that of one *Cassius Severus*, a Snarler by Trade, *Contempto ordine rerum, omissa modestia ac pudore verborum, ipsis etiam quibus utitur armis incompositus, & studio ferendi plerumque detectus, non pugnat, sed rixatur.* And we shall see him charge in this Character in the following Quotation.

(Third Letter, Page 59th.) “ *A Man that can see a Vote in as momentous a Light as the Wing of an Army, or that can fear even the Loss of a Question more than the Loss of a Battle, on which the Fate of his Country may turn, will, whatever he may think, be pronounced a little Genius.*”

I pass here to the Author the Absurdity of beating the Air, in this loose inconclusive Proposition, as if there were not possible Votes of a *British* Parliament, on which the Fate of our Country, and even of *Europe*, might turn as fatally, as on the Loss of an Army, Center and Wings, but cannot help observing, that in the Premises he builds it on, he is so far at War with himself, as to furnish the fairest Inference from Allegations *all his own*, in favour of these Accepters, he has tasked himself to abuse; particularly where he forges, that our Disadvantage at the Battle of *Fontenoy* was owing to the Miss of *Hanoverians*, which, by the by, I absolutely deny; and those that know any thing at all, can well assign another, and a truer Cause. But, for Argument's sake, let us allow this Supposition: To reason then *with him*, and to turn his own Words upon him; this Transfer of the *Hanoverians* to the Queen of *Hungary's* Service, was "*the Burst of a Link of the political Chain,*" which the timid Minister was in the wrong to yield to, in compliance with the strong Torrent of popular Prejudice against those Troops, which perhaps had better never been taken into our Pay, or for obvious Reasons, not so ingraciously thanked for their Services: But the
new

new Acceders peradventure thought themselves obliged to make a Point of the Alteration of a Measure they had so strenuously represented and declaimed against ; and since it was impossible in the Situation of Things to new-cast the whole System of Politicks then actually in Execution, to begin at least with the most generally odious Part of it. Granting then that this Disjointure of "*one Link of the political Chain*" had bad Effects, or hazarded too much the Connexions of the whole, would not this be a conclusive Reason for the Accepters to plead against going too hastily to work with other Reforms ? Or are they at once censurable for their Heat in reversing one of those Measures they had opposed, and for their Moderation and Coolness, in leaving others on Foot, that they could not have proceeded effectually against, without precipitating their Country into the utmost Disorder and Confusion, especially pending the War ? But since Affairs had already taken the fatal Ply under an Impulse of Direction, they had vainly withstood, nothing better was left for them, than to watch, and keep within Bounds, the Current, they were obliged to humour, and could not force out of the ready-made Channel, without running the most desperate Hazards ; adhering thus to
 what

what was solidly right, and expedient in present Practice, rather than to what was only ostentatious in Speculation; a Distinction easily and necessarily made by those of any Candour who are the best acquainted with the Situation of public Affairs, however it may unfortunately escape those Eagle-eyed Politicians, who from their Airies in *Grub-street*, superintend the State, and take Cognisance of the Conduct of all Ministers, for their sublime Discoveries in which the Publick is so often indebted to their Vigils. What, for example, would have become of the Liberty of the Press, if the sagacious Letter-writer had not snuffed the Storm brooding, and ready to burst on it, from the same Quarter, in which he had descried a Cabal of renegade Patriots, who have seized upon Government, and have laid a marvellous deep Design, no doubt, never to part with it again to its right Owners? (1st Letter, Page 36. & *alibi*.) Such are the Deliriums he modestly hopes may contribute
 “ to rouse Mankind to a Sense of our Condi-
 “ tion.”

(Page 64th of the 3d Letter.) Pointing at the Loss of *Bergen-op-Zoom*, he notes it, in respect to the Stadtholdership for “ the
 “ only Event that has yet happened, from
 “ whence

" whence we can calculate what is to happen hereafter."

Here too the Letter-writer supplies me with another just Occasion of remounting higher than the Battle of *Fontenoy*, and demonstrating that the main Spring of our foreign Affairs was shattered to Pieces long before the Change took Place, which he discharges his Abuse at, and which, like the Stadtholdership, only came *too late*.

It is well known, that about the Time of the Excise-Scheme, Sir R—— W—— made use of the Match with the House of *Orange*, as a Tub thrown out to amuse and divert the People in the Heat of the Ferment : He was *then* told, what he well knew, that from that Instant we might bid adieu to all sincere Friendship and Cordiality on the Side of the States, who could not look on an Alliance that must throw so great a Weight into that House, with an Eye of Indifference ; nor was it in the Power of the solemnest Disavowals, or the most *guarded* Conduct to cure the Jealousy they had entertained, that this Connection would sooner or latter force the Stadtholdership upon them, which every Motive of Interest and Power had long nailed it a standing Maxim of their Government to oppose : And this was a Jealousy the *French* did not think themselves *hired* to draw the
Rivets

Rivets of, but accordingly improved the Impression so well, that not improbably all the Bribery supposed to have been employed by the Court, amongst the leading Members of that State, was no other than an industrious and successful Cultivation of that Shyness and Disunion which this Alliance had (unreasonably if you please) given Birth to, and superadded to other Piques of Competition unavoidable between two great trading Nations.

The *Dutch* were then to be considered as divided into two great Parties: The *Stadtholderists* and the *Anti-Stadtholderists*: The first were called by their Adversaries, the *English* Faction, a Compliment they returned them in the Appellation of the *French* Faction, which consisted of the principal leading Members of that Republic, who, tenacious of Power, naturally dreaded every Measure, that threatned them, however remotely, with the Creation of a solemnly renounced Office that would divest them of the greatest Part of it.

When then we crammed our Troops down their Throats, and inverted the old Maxims so far as to sue to them to accept of Succours they protested against, and affected not to see the Necessity of: No Wonder that the L--d St-- sent on an Errand his
Friends

Friends saw him with Compassion accept of, could not *stir up* the Spirit we wanted: No Wonder that the Impetuosity of the L. G. the politer Eloquence of L. C. and the Philippics of *Van Haren*, failed in persuading *Dutchmen* who think so strongly what they do think, especially where their Interest is at stake, to rush into a War, which the Prospect of a Stadtholder gave them such an Aversion to, whilst they could *sound high* to their own Countrymen the plausible Plea of the Advantages of a Neutrality to a trading People. On the Foot of these Ideas, they treated the *Ballance of Power*, as a Cant-word, which we had worn out the Influence of; and imputed to our officious Transport of Troops to their Assistance, the bringing the War home to their Doors, and giving the *French* a Pretence to push it into the Bowels of their Country by pursuing their Enemies into it, that retired before them; and were so coldly supported by these dear Allies. as if the Officers had been actuated by the Spirit of the *French* Faction. Had the *Dutch* been true to themselves, our Succours were sufficient, but if they were not to be depended on; three Times the Number of Men sent from hence would not have turned to effectual Account.

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The Force of Conjectures however operated at length the Creation of a Stadtholder, an Event so far favourable at least to the *French*, as to afford them a specious Pretence for triumphing in our having verified their Precautions; and having accomplish'd that Point, they accuse us, falsely no doubt, of having had in view in seeking to embroil the *Dutch* with that Court, by driving them into a War, whether they would or not. And where then is the mighty Good we have hitherto seen from that boasted Measure of sending our Troops abroad *in Pledge to FRIEND and FOE*, that the present Ministry need wish to have the Merit of it? Nor indeed can I see what great Accession of Strength, this Title of a Stadtholder can be to the Common Cause, since the Power and Weight annexed to that Office, will hardly stem the strong Stream of Government which has run against it so many Years; in which Time the principal Members of the Republic have constantly with all their Might and Influence guarded and fortified themselves against this Event: And though the common Dangers (which by the bye, they do not thank us for) have put a Kind of Violence on them to join in the popular Measure of recurring to a Stadtholder; there cannot but remain, and that amongst

amongst the greatest Men of the State, a Leaven of Discontent and Disaffection, not at all the less fierce or pernicious for being concealed, and which may not a little serve to frustrate the good Intentions and Operations of the Stadholder. What then would this great Pilot in Politics have had the new Ministry done? Should they, for fear of the Scandal of adopting and continuing L. G—'s Plan, have abruptly recalled those Troops in the Midst of the Dangers, which the *French* Faction accuses those very Troops of having brought upon their Country? Or, would it be right to bare the Side of, and desert a Prince, whose Promotion is supposed to be our Work, a Promotion by which he is rather *invidiously* plunged into Troubles and Difficulties, than advantaged or dignified?

This summary Detail, Sir, I thought necessary to ascertain the true Date of one of those irremediable capital Errors the new Ministry succeeded to the Disadvantage of struggling with. Join, if you please, to this the fatal *Prussia Bearskin*, and the unstemmable Flood of Corruption, which was let in upon the Nation, under the Ministry and avowed Protection of a Man whose Memory every true *Englishman* ought to stop his Nose at; a Flood which you have in vain opposed,

out of, as well as in Office; and the candid Considerer will find a more palpable Reason, in *those* indisputable Antecedents for the Figure our Affairs have made, and the Pass they are brought to on the Continent, than in the *TREASON* of *PATRIOTS*, "*and the timid Compliance of Ministers who were chaffering for those Patriots.*" (Third Letter, Page 56.)

Aware that I have mentioned Corruption *last* among the Causes of our Misfortunes, I restore it to the Head-place, which it is too sensibly entitled to vindicate: And who is there I can with more Propriety capitally accuse it to, for all the Ills we see it has entailed on the Nation, than to that Person who signalized his first Steps in Life, by his Attacks on the Father, and Proto-apostle of it in these Kingdoms? To *Selim*, I say, who foresaw and foretold that fatal Progress of it, which not his own Example, nor that of the virtuous few, uninfected with its pestilential Blight, can set Bounds to? *Privata cuique Stimulatio, vile Decus publicum.*

Yet! what a Blow did not Bribery receive from the Dissolution of the last Parliament? when that Precedent, by rendering the Term more uncertain, and of course, of less Value to the ambitious Purchaser, struck at the Vitals of Corruption, whilst those of the Constitution

stitution derived new Spirit from this Exertion of the Royal Prerogative; that confidently appealed to the pure Sense of the People; a Sense which was to be tried by an Election of a new Representative, the freest from Bribery that has been known for a long Series of Years; a Circumstance which did not indeed make the Ministry many Friends, amongst those who were baulked of their Marketings, whether their Object was selling themselves, or purchasing others: And, indeed such is the venal Spirit of the Times, that you must expect to create more Hatred, and Enmity by your Opposition to, than by espousing the catholic System of it, and to have even the Guilt of it imputed to you, without any other earthly Reason than that *you are in Office*, which, if it was valid, would hold for abolishing at once all the Offices of the State, or bestowing them on those honest Souls who make a frank Profession of no other Principle of Government.

That the Love of Money is so far from a culpable Passion, whilst kept within a due Subordination; that it is even a Virtue, who would dispute, except common-place Declaimers, or superficial Satirists? But when that Passion becomes an epidemic Rage, that seizes all Orders of Men, without sparing the highest or most sacred Characters, when a whole Nation shall, with one Voice and Spirit,

Spirit, say to Money, *thou art my supreme God, I know no other Good but thee*; when this sordid Principle shall stamp the Characteristic of a whole Country, and become its sole Genius, and *Primum Mobile*; is there an Example in the whole Stream of History of a People escaping Ruin that deserved it so much? Or can any thing *great* be expected from a People govern'd by so *little* a Spirit? When such a most infamous levelling Tenet, as *that Property gives Rank*, shall not only obtain amongst the Generations of Pawn-brokers, Stock-jobbers, or the vilest of the Nation, but receive a Sanction from the Hands of the greatest Authority, and ravish from true Nobility, personal Merit and Virtue, the Titles and Distinction due to them alone, it is not very hard to foretel the Fate of such a Country. Contempt of Fame, and of course Contempt of Virtue, for ever accompanies that worthless, base-born Passion, which swallows up every noble and salutary Principle that conduces even to the Security of that Property which is its *unique* Idol, and which the Degeneracy of Spirit inseparable from it, dastardizes the Possessors out of the Courage to defend it. This is too truly the universal Taint of these *soft* Times; it is this that undignifies our *great Men*! weakens their

their Authority in every Thing, but that of spreading the Infection, and has near melted down all public Spirit into one putrified Mass of Corruption : But then, one may as justly impute the Rot amongst the Cattle to you, as this incomparably worse Rot amongst the Spirits of *Britain* ; which you foresaw, loudly protested against, and are perhaps more hated and abused for your known inflexible Opposition to its Progress, than were you really the corrupted Character that Libeller would represent you : But we are now in those Times, when you must count on your Virtues making you more Enemies than your Vices.

Where is the true *Englishman* who does not see with Concern, all the liberal Sciences, all the necessary Arts, droop, languish, and on the Point of Extinction under the illiterate Star that reigns at present, and shades a baleful Influence over all that merit in them, which our Nation was once so jealous of preserving the Pre-eminence in ? What Excellence is now in Honour, what Genius encouraged, but the *Judaic* one of Calculations, raising Money by the licensed Gamblership of a Lottery, or any other Device whatever, that flatters the weak Side of the People in their destructive Avidity of Gain ? which never reigns, but to the Ex-
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clusion of the Spirit either of Conquest or Defence.

Even our Luxury not only enervates our Courage, but betrays a wretched Idea of our Taste: Such was probably that of the lower Empire on the Eve of the *Turkish* Conquest of it. Those who sacrifice all Considerations of Religion and Honour to a Life of Indolence, and Ease without Fame or Dignity, are such as most certainly understand least the great *Art of living*. We see the most avowed Votaries of Pleasure look for it in Circumstances of Pride, false Magnificence, tasteless Sensuality, Ostentation, in short, every thing that true Happiness flies from, and detests. But let the Great of these Times enjoy unenvied their Ribbons, their Side-boards of Plate, tawdry Equipages, a winning Race-horse, or the like trivial pauntry Distinctions, beneath even the Lash of a Satirist: Let them, I say, brave and defy the Censure and Compassion of those of a truer Taste; but let them consider too, how much this Degeneracy from the Virtues of their Ancestors, (I mean those who have any Ancestry to boast of) weakens the Defence of the Nation, and constitutes one of the political Causes of its present Declension and Relaxation of Nerve and Vigour, both in our Councils

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and Courage. Whilst we bluster about our raising Millions, we seem to forget how much the Use of Iron is superior to that of Gold, and that a Nation strong in the first, may be soon Mistress of one only strong in the last. Thus the military Art, so necessary to the very Being of a Nation, whilst it has seen all the Forms, Parade, and *Externals* of War, attended to with a puerile Punctiliousness, lies uncultivated in its capital and most essential Point the Promotion of another and a truer Spirit and Principle in the Army to fight on, than that mercenary one, which rather enervates than strings the Arm in Battle. If *great* Men are the Strength of a State, when were we weaker? But if the *Rich* are to be its only Defence, (though surely they are fitter to invite than deter Conquest) when were we ever stronger? Or what peculiar Appellation of Infamy shall we distinguish this Period of *English* History by, in which the *G--d--ns* the *V--nn--*, or any other opulent Money-grub are the first Names in our Annals, and perhaps the first regarded in our Councils: To such as them indeed might probably enough be imputed that execrable Maxim, “*of keeping up the national Debt for Security of the Protestant Succession,*” (3d Letter, p. 89.) a Maxim too pernicious in its Tendency,

not to deserve the being exploded by the severest publick Animadversion : A Maxim that connects inseparably the Interests of the Crown and People of *Great Britain*, with that of a few worthless Stock-holders, who have made over-grown Fortunes out of the Exigencies of their Country, of which we see them as little the Ornament, as the Defence, and to which they ought to be no dearer than Tallymen to a young Heir.

I know indeed more than one Minister has adapted this falsest of Maxims ; but where is the true Friend to the Protestant Succession, that can with Patience hear its Security attributed to such an infamous Foundation ? instead of placing it in the Hearts of the People, where alone it can be firmly established, and which nothing could alienate more, than the discouraging Suggestion, That all the Burthen of the Taxes which falls the heaviest on Industry and Commerce, was to be irredeemably mortgaged to clear the Interest of an immense Debt anticipated to so little Purpose and Effect : Much I fear, were that really the Case, that the Attachment to a Government founded on such a Change-Alley Principle, would not afford a very true Spirit, either of Industry or Courage ; and consequently none are so much interested to decry this scandalous Suggestion than that very Ministry which
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fees itself accused of adopting, and conforming their Measures to it.

For you, Sir, who *found*, and did not help to *form*, the State of Things, such as I have too truly painted it, such as yourself exerted your Influence against, and easily prophesied that it would come to exist, after having opposed it with all the Zeal of a true Patriot, where is your Blame? unless it could comport with Justice and Candour, to expect, that a Body corrupted and crazed by a long Course of Mis-government, should the Instant it was scarce out of the Quack's Hands, produce the Operations of perfect Health, and active Vigour. Or is there Sense in supposing, that even the best of Architects can cement with rotten Materials, or carry on in a perfect Upright, a Building raised from a false Foundation, which there is no Possibility of digging up, without endangering the whole Edifice?

Here then I close with a very just and proper Congratulation to you, on the Invitation given the Publick by this Author of the Letters to the Whigs, to exert its Right of Enquiry "*into the Behaviour of Persons in publick Characters:*" This is one of the Points I contest not with him; nor would it be perfectly grateful in you to overlook with "*haughty Dignity*" such a

Favour, were he of Importance enough to set one on Foot, since the clearest Gainer would be yourself. The Publick too might see with Pleasure, the Vanity and Impudence exposed, of attempting to spread ill Impressions of the Acceptance of Places in his Majesty's Service.

An Enquiry into your Conduct would be like tracking over Snow, and only issue in the plainest Proof, that, far from losing the Patriot in the Courtier, you have consolidated those Characters into one, by a just Conciliation of their respective Duties ; at a Time too, when nothing can be a more national Point than to explode the dangerous and unprovoked Distinction between the two Services of King and Country, which in the Eye of the Constitution subsist inseparably *one* and the *same* ; unless any Danger to that Constitution should demand their Division ; and that, I dare assume, Sedition incarnate would scarce venture a Murmur of there existing the Shadow of, under the present Government. I say, Sedition, because I would distinguish its Suggestions, from such Sallies of Frenzy and Distraction as the Letter-writer has broke out into in his most fustian flatulent Libels : Some of the most glaring ones I have left, with all their Folly on their Head, unmarked, out of respect

spect to the Publick, which cannot but be better informed, and to whom it must be the highest Offence to suppose it capable of taking any Impression at all from them.

But where he accuses you of a Design to demolish Literature, as a Minister, the Impudence of singling you out for such a Charge, is so excessive, that it is rather too droll to resent seriously: Who knows not that the Genius of Arts and Sciences would never thus have languished and declined, to the Reproach of these Times, could the Zeal and Devotion of a *Selim* to its Cultivation have kept up its Head? But his Example, and that of the few who remain undebauched by the Numbers round them, that have set up the Standard of Ignorance and Indolence, only enter an unavailing Protest against their determined Proscription of all Learning and Merit in the *Belles Lettres*. Yet, to say the Truth, it does not require much Strength of Mind to stand out in Contempt of so tasteless a Fashion: What is there so laudable, what is there so tempting in that Society of low Characters in high Life, who are dishonoured and degraded by their Coolness, Indifference to, not to say Hatred of Genius and Merit, that a Gentleman of true Taste and Distinction should wish to rank with them? Or rather not to

escape being confounded with the Mob of them? A Mob, not one Jot superior to that of the meanest Mechanics, who are of the two the more respectable, as they are the less blameable Characters, with whom however, these modern *Goths*, from the sordid Duke down to the rich Brewer, will live and die, equally involved in general Oblivion and Silence, equally obscure and pretensionless to Fame: For Fame is not, like the Vulgar of all Conditions, the Dupe of Birth, Titles, or Stations, when they are not otherwise filled.

Natural however as it is to see with Concern this prevailing Degeneracy of Taste and Spirit, which never yet threatened any State in vain, be it some Part of your Consolation, that you have memorably opposed it; You who are even superior to that Distinction which the Contrast confers on a few Exceptions, at the Expence of the publick Dishonour and Misfortune, for you would have been eminent even in Countries where Genius and Talents are not grown so rare, as they are now in ours.

As praising by Facts, is Praise indeed! ought it on this Occasion to pass unobserved, that known as you are to love all Merit in Arts and Sciences, you have consistently even sought out, protected, and rewarded it? as there
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are many living Witnesses ready to attest on their own Experience. Some too have felt, in the Retrenchment of the Bounties they had enjoyed, that the genial Influence had ceased to operate, which, like the Sun, had cultivated and heated a Soil, into that Produce it is, in its Absence, no longer seen to afford.

As an Author, you have enrolled one more Name in the Lists of those great Men who have added this Dignity to that of their Birth and Station, a Dignity which has been considered as not inferior at least to either, by the greatest Men in all Ages, and in all polished Countries, some of whom have not unambitiously courted the Reputation of it. However, it may, in these Times of Refinement, have fallen into Disgrace with certain morose supercilious Statesmen, a Tribe of insignificant female Trifflers, or an ungrateful Wit or two, that owe most of their Name in, and Favour with the Public to its Opinion of their being capable of a Character which they are wrong-headed enough to affect the insipid Gaiety, the miserable Levity of decrying,

Allowing too that the Merit of *Selim* the Author will neither fall by the Decisions of this outrageous Scribbler, nor stand by mine, yet I cannot think the present or the future Publick hardly treated in the Belief, that whilst such Rhapsodies of distracted Politics,

Politics, scurrilous Personalities, and abandoned Falshoods, as make up the three Letters to the Whigs, die suffocated with their own Filth and Rankness, the Works of *Selim* will remain eternal Monuments of Sentiment, Taste and Diction.

But whilst I pay you strictly no more than the Tribute of Common-sense, I forget that I offer Violence to that sensitive Dignity of Modesty, which shrinks and collects itself at the Touch of Praise. This then I shall only add, that laughing to Scorn all Imputations of Party, I profess alone that of Truth the only Party, that the Sense and Honour of a true *Englishman* should not disdain to own the Distinction of. In that Spirit, I have essayed to do you Justice; and to turn, without straining, Abuse so false, into true and unaffected Matter of Congratulation. Happy if, in the Execution, I have not given you Offence, though unmeant, your Resentment of which however suffer me to direct to its proper Object, the Author who extorted from my Impatience of his Effrontery these Animal versions on it. *Si culpa est respondisse, quæso ut patienter audias, multo major est provocasse.* I am,

S. J. R.

Tours, &c. &c. &c.

St. Jerome.

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